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THE CARIBBEAN CRISIS

Cuba: Ike hell bent to go out with the war drums beating?

By Kumar Goshal

IN ITS DYING DAYS the Eisenhower Administration seemed hell-bent on having the world die with it. In the last three weeks of its life it created a new crisis in Latin America by breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and converted Laos once again into the hottest spot in Asia.

On Jan. 3—the day before the UN Security Council was to discuss Havana's charges of imminent aggression by the U.S. — President Eisenhower announced the formal break with Cuba. The announcement attributed the severance to "a long series of harassments, baseless accusations and vilification" by the Cuban government, the latest and the most intolerable being Havana's decision to limit the personnel of the U.S. embassy in Cuba and the Cuban embassy in the U.S. to 11 each.

At the UN, U.S. chief delegate James Wadsworth accused the Cuban leaders of acting "definitely on purpose" to force Eisenhower to sever diplomatic relations. (This reminded some Indians that, under British rule, white police officials used to accuse Indian nationalists of deliberately hitting raised British boots with their stomachs—just to spread the canard about police brutality.)

WHO DID WHAT: Actually, the Cuban decision to reduce U.S. embassy personnel to 11 resulted, Foreign Minister Raul Roa told the Security Council, from "the policy of harassment, reprisals, aggression, subversion, isolation, intervention and imminent military attack being carried out by the U.S. against the government and people of Cuba."

The U.S. press almost unanimously accused Premier Fidel Castro of deliberately provoking the break; this was echoed by such Democrats as Senators Fulbright, Mansfield and Jackson, and Adlai Stevenson. Yet there was enough evidence in the U.S. press itself to support Roa's indictment.

Cuban history of the last 60 years has been shot through with the most blatant U.S. intervention, including the landing of Marines. More recently, as Carleton

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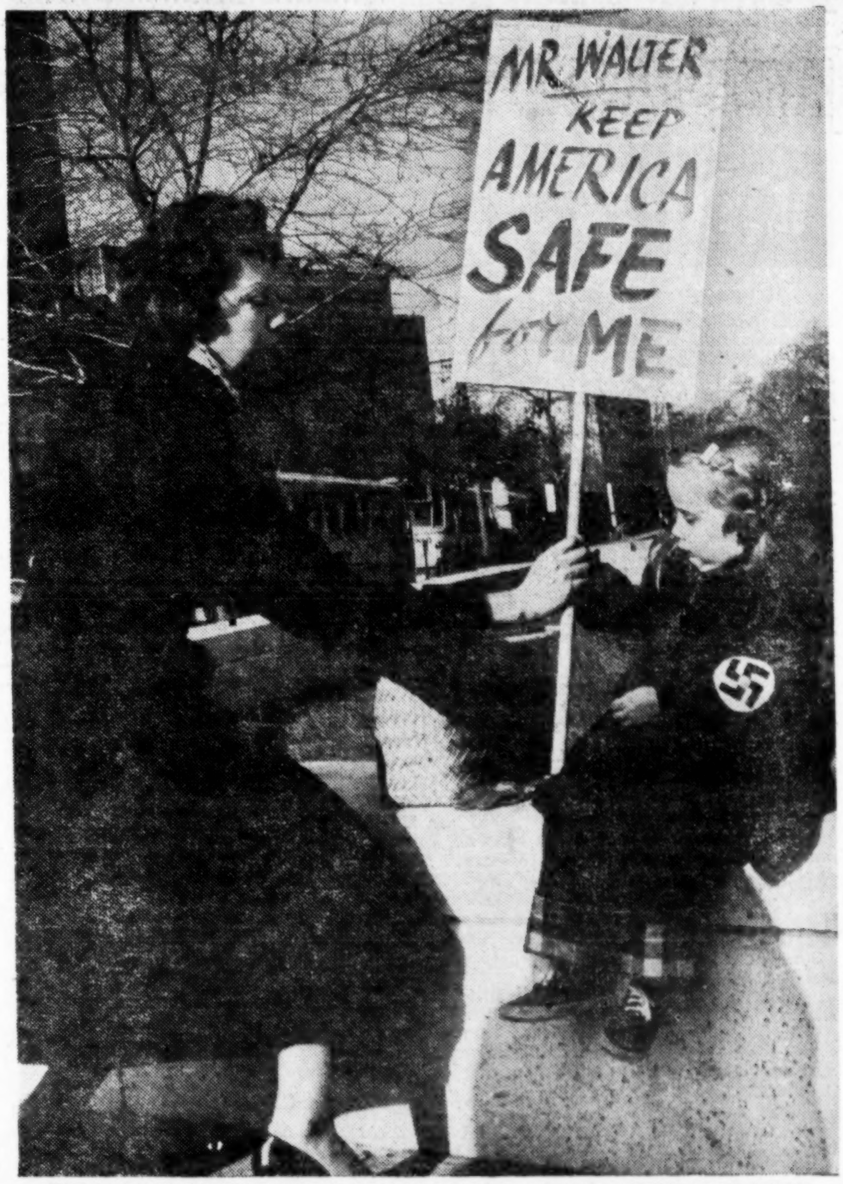
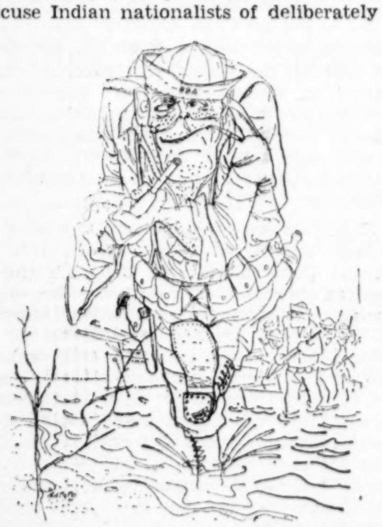


WILL THIS LITTLE GIRL GROW UP TO SHOUT: 'HEIL WALTER'?
Other adults showed more sense—for themselves and their children—regarding the Un-American Activities Committee (see pages 6 and 7)



Inra, Havana

LITTLE HOPE FOR REAL RULES CHANGES

The Old Guard holds the line in Congress

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE DIXIECRAT-GOP reactionary coalition retained its control of both the Senate and the House during the first week of the 87th Congress. No change was made in the seniority system which gives Southern conservatives control of most important Congressional committees. No opposition was expressed to continuing 79-year-old Texan Sam Rayburn as Speaker and boss of the House Democrats, or to Rep. Charles Halleck of Indiana as leader of the House Republicans.

In the Senate Vice President-elect Lyndon Johnson put his protege, Sen. Mike Mansfield (Mont.), in as Majority Leader and squelched efforts of liberal Senators to obstruct his plan to continue as the actual boss. Old Guard Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.) was unopposed as the Senate Minority Leader.

Still pending at the end of the first week, but increasingly unlikely, was a move to substitute a pro-Kennedy Dixiecrat for anti-Kennedy Dixiecrat Rep. William Colmer D-Miss.) on the key Rules Committee.

In the Senate the possibility still existed that the filibuster power might be weakened a bit, but even this uncertain prospect lost some of its significance because of the Kennedy Administration's decision not to push for civil rights legislation in this Congress.

RULES UNCHANGED: No move was made to amend the House rules to eliminate the blockade of liberal legislation by the Rules Committee headed by Dixiecrat Howard W. Smith (D-Va.). Made up of eight Democrats and four Republicans, the Rules Committee is controlled by a coalition of two ultra-reactionary Democrats, Smith and Colmer, and four hard-shell Old Guard Republicans. In the last Congress this coalition blocked or obstructed action on aid to education, housing, juvenile delinquency, Taft-Hartley amendments and civil rights, among others.

Plans of House liberals to fight for reform of the Rules Committee were abandoned after assurances from Speaker Rayburn that he would handle the problem (they were similarly assured by Ray-

(Continued on Page 10)

A FIRST-HAND REPORT FROM THE GUARDIAN TOUR

They saw the truth for themselves in Cuba

By John T. McManus

ANY FAIR-MINDED North American lucky enough to have been in Cuba these past freighted weeks must conclude that the Cuban people are uncommonly grand neighbors, that we have done little to deserve such neighborliness, and that instead of breaking diplomatic relations with them we should send a new, young flight of diplomats down there to learn the ways of a new world a-coming.

There were at least 600 open-minded North Americans in Cuba, including our GUARDIAN group of 75 or so, for the period beginning with the Christmas week end. They came to a country sparkling with holiday decor—windows, doorways, lawns strung with many-colored lights: trees hung with Yule ornaments, accenting, for example, their **Año de la Educación** in 1961 with stars and cutouts based on ABC themes; and public buildings blazoning the national slogan, **Venceremos,** meaning that they intend to emerge the victor over ignorance and poverty as well as over any attempt to turn the clock back in a country determined to rush forward toward a new, complete life for all its people.

But while for the Cubans it was a holiday season celebrating great accomplishment in two years, and greater ones to come, it was a season alloyed—though certainly not blighted—by an outbreak of vicious bombings in crowded department stores and cinemas; and on the eve of the New Year by the invasion scare which—regardless of what the U.S. press has said of it—was a real and well-founded alarm which brought the nation to arms overnight in defense of its shoreline and vital installations.

That the terrorist TNT, as well as the invasion threat, came from the U.S. was a documented fact before the Cuban people; and for the dynamiters in their

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THE MAIL BAG

Kennedy's Cabinet

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

Had Nixon been the President-elect, it would not have been a surprise if he had chosen the same men for his Cabinet that Kennedy did.

Peter C. Walters

Hodges' tune

ERWIN, TENN.

The appointment by maestro-elect Kennedy of North Carolina Gov. Luther Hodges to play Secretary of Commerce in his big jazz band advertises pretty plainly the general tone of the concert. Hodges was, before entering politics, a slave-driver for the cotton mill barons. As governor, he was openly a violent segregationist and enemy of both the Negroes and labor. He broke the Harriet Cotton Mill strike at Henderson with soldiers and got the union leaders sent to prison on cooked-up evidence for long terms.

Ernest Seeman

Fears for Cuba

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Many of us are afraid Castro is losing the revolution in Cuba. It is a shame that our country allows mercenaries to use the state of Florida to send troops to Cuba. Now that Belfrage is in Havana, we can get some good reporting.

Art Walker

The Cardinal and Cuba

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am sure that many fair-minded Catholics (and I would like to include myself among these) felt a sense of shame and indignity as they read the comment of Cardinal Spellman, printed on the front page of the New York **Herald Tribune** on Jan. 2, that he would "foot the bill for mental hospital treatment for Cuban Premier Fidel Castro."

Shamed I was, that this intelligent and cynical priest should make such a silly and wholly irrelevant answer to one of the gravest problems which today confront the United States of America. It is hard to believe that the head of the Roman Catholic Church in this area, himself a man of long experience in secular politics, could thus offer so gratuitous an insult to the head of a neighboring State with which we are not (as yet) at war.

The Cardinal surely knows that millions of good Catholics in Cuba and throughout South America regard Fidel Castro as a hero. Such a statement from one of our great religious leaders will anger those people and certainly make no easier the task of our new Administration, in its effort to bridge the widening gap of fear and hostility that separates North from South Americans.

I am frightened by this incident. It recalls to me, all too vividly, that not very many years ago people in high places were calling President Franklin D. Roosevelt "that lunatic in the White House." This is the kind of false witness against one's neighbor that is expressly forbidden by the Commandment. We could expect it from a Joe McCarthy, but hardly from Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Charles Pemberton

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

PALM BEACH (AP)—President-elect Kennedy named John J. McCloy, former allied high commissioner in Germany, to be his chief adviser and policy planner in a stepped up search for world disarmament. McCloy's duties will assume such importance in the new administration that he is expected to be relieved of the responsibility for negotiating with Russia and other powers in a ticklish field.

Los Angeles **Times**,
Jan. 3, 1961

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E.C.B., Los Angeles, Calif.

High life in Cuba

CALGARY, ALBERTA

I had just about given up hope of seeing a real report on Cuba in your pages (barring Leo Huberman's good speech) when today I received the latest issue and read Cedric Belfrage's first report after landing in Havana. That was something. It wasn't filled up with petty bourgeois reports on how the GUARDIAN angels plan to spend a holiday in the plush hotels and on fancy beaches.

Real workers shouldn't crave that sort of living when nearly half the earth's people are still living in abject ignorance and poverty, starving like 50,000 people in Seoul, South Korea, along with so many millions in India, Africa and South America that we can't begin to count them.

So many of the left-wingers I've met never missed a square meal in their lives, so it's very hard for them to really understand what the Cubans went through under Batista.

Leo Fillmore

The hotels and beaches of Cuba now belong to the Cuban people, and they are delighted to have North American friends use them. Canadians too.—Ed.

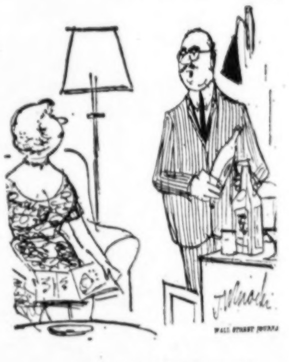
To David Alfaro Siqueiros

(in jail for "tending to cause social dissolution")

Your are not wasting time being a prisoner behind bars.
You are painting a mural all over your jail telling us whose hands are in chains.
You are painting beautiful faces on the walls of the Rio Grande showing us whose children are hungry. And on the ceiling of North America you are painting angry mothers humming songs about La Cucaracha and Adelita.

But don't forget your own self-portrait—shoulders reaching
from the roof—head touching Mt. Popocatepetl—and your fingers—three billion strong—scooping up the voracious little hagglers of the earth.

Walter Lowenfels
Mays Landing, N. J.



Mirachi, Wall Street Journal

"I took our aptitude test at the plant this morning. Thank heaven I own the company."

Civil defense myth

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I enjoyed Robert E. Light's article (Dec. 19) on The Ultimate Madness—Civil Defense. Albeit, Mr. Light's suggestion that we write President-elect Kennedy and Senator Young to abolish the psychological apparatus of the war hysteria appears rather ambiguous, unless it is the mode of the Left to have the Right vindicate its philosophy. Perhaps Mr. Light forgot the advice of Thoreau: you never destroy the position of the majority by applying the rules they set down to do so.

Perhaps your readers would be interested in knowing that the **Catholic Worker** started the civil disobedience against the civil defense myth six years ago. We have been picketing the civil defense authorities every day since Oct. 2 from 12 noon to 2 p.m. at 55th St. and Lexington Ave.

The friends of the **Catholic Worker** throughout the world, and I am sure all peace-loving people, thank Mr. Light for this stimulating article.

Jacques P. Baker

●

ELIZABETH, N.J.

I read Robert Light's article on Civil Defense (Dec. 19) with great interest. I was particularly intrigued by what the students in some New York schools are doing about civil defense drills. Last year, after failing to enlist the aid of some fellow students, a friend and I refused to take part in the nation-wide drill which took place during the spring. Needless to say the demonstration had no effect nor drew any attention to the subject. However, reading Light's article once again inspired us to organize a dissenting group.

C. B.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

HERE IS A PARAGRAPH from a textbook entitled **Our America** by Herbert Townsend, recommended for the 4th to 6th grades in the New York City school system:

"Most Southern people treated their slaves kindly It was true that most of the slaves were happy. They did not want to be free. The people of the North did not understand this."

From **A History of the U.S.**, still in use:

"The planter, generally speaking, was intelligent enough to know that he, like the animal trainer, could get best results through kind treatment."

In the 1937 edition of **Our Neighbors in America and Europe, Part I,** Superintendent of Schools William Jansen himself wrote:

"Thousands of Mexicans have had little or no schooling and are so easily led by others that as a result Mexico has had several revolutions."

Later in the same book:

"[The Mexicans] are not greatly interested in their work, and seem satisfied as long as they have enough to eat."

The Board of Education has exonerated or mildly rebuked teachers who called their pupils "wops" and "Al Capones"; who allowed children to gang up on the child of a liberal with shouts of "You're a communist!"; who wrote across the paper of a Jewish student: "It was not the Romans but the Jews who caused the crucifixion and that may account for your reaction."

—From the National Guardian, Jan. 17, 1951

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Vol. 13, No. 14 — 401 — January 16, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

How Havana took it

HAVANA

THE NEWS THAT WASHINGTON had broken relations came as 1,000 guests, here from half the countries of the world for the revolution's second anniversary, surged about Cuba's leaders in the marble halls of the Presidential Palace. Black Africans brilliantly toga-ed, somber-suited Muscovites accompanying a walrus-mustached Uzbek giant, tanned actresses and poets and revolutionaries from all over Latin America, trim, polite Chinese . . . with these, in the cavalcade of buses and cars from Havana's hotels, had come enough **Norteamericanos** to make them the largest group from a single country.

An open invitation to the party had gone out to every U.S. visitor in town. Unchecked they streamed up the stairs to shake President Dorticos' hand and—if they wished—to join the wedge of international admirers in which Fidel moved, amiably chatting with anyone who got close enough.

Total friendliness, total informality . . . Then the news spread from hosts to guests, almost casually—and the only sign of anxiety was on the face of an American woman who asked: "Don't you think Fidel ought to take more care of himself?"

For the overwhelming majority of **Norteamericanos** author Carleton Beals summed up: "An attempt at aggression by the U.S. would be a madman's adventure and a gangster's crime which history would never forgive."

WHEN THE NEWS WAS KNOWN, Fidel spent another hour with the guests before leaving for his office, doubtless to work all night with his top associates. Later in the plush Habana Libre hotel, hundreds of Latin American guests gathered with yells of **"Viva Cuba!"** . . . **"Yanquis No!"** . . . **"Abajo Imperialismo!"** to be briefed on the next days' tours. They would see Cuba mobilized against the aggression peril but carrying on as usual with its social revolution.

Through the hotel and through the streets, revolutionary songs rang out with redoubled fervor. Cuban teen-agers poured out of the elevators, armed and uniformed to stand guard through the night. Radio stations announced continuous all-night broadcasts and loudspeakers filled the air with fiery excerpts from Fidel's speeches, solidarity messages from around the world, rumbas, and reminders that "this is the Year of Education."

SMILES FROM EVERY SIDE for **Norteamericanos.** Not a word or a face suggested hostility toward the people of the U.S. as distinct from their government. Commentators on the radio and in next day's papers voiced guarded optimism because of President-elect Kennedy's refusal to comment on the dying Administration's action.

Served with breakfast was a U.S. Embassy warning to all its citizens here to leave by the first available means if they wanted protection. One U.S. visitor told a Havana radio interviewer—and most seemed to agree—that the only thing he felt he needed protection from was the U.S. Embassy. Armed militiamen and women were on guard every few yards, but relaxation spiced with excitement continued to prevail among the **Norteamericanos.**

Then the swollen corps of U.S. "diplomats"—the ones Cuba has charged with being cover for saboteurs who have been setting fires in stores and blowing off children's limbs with time-bombs planted in toilets—began burning papers in the Embassy and preparing to leave. A squad of militiawomen took businesslike stances outside as padlocked filing cabinets, cartridge boxes, roped beer cartons, suitcases, tennis rackets and electrical gadgets were brought out.

A few expensively-dressed Cubans, accompanied by a priest, gathered to bid farewell to their U.S. "diplomat" friends. Then silence fell on the sumptuous Embassy skyscraper on the waterfront.

BY THE WEEKEND, Havana fairly bristled with guns in the hands of determined, self-disciplined young men and women—volunteers putting in eight hours' militia duty after the day's work. The people's demand from every other wall and vehicle for death to terrorists had been proclaimed as law by Fidel.

So Cuba waits; Cuba, insisting on its absolute right of sovereignty over its own destinies, is ready with the only answer to **imperialistas** who run amok. Fidel's people know that Washington is arming and training, a hundred-odd miles away, every Cuban whom money can buy. Fidel's people know just what they might have to die for—and that it is right, and that the great suffering masses of America and the world stand behind them.

So they do not fear death, and I never saw a happier and more confident people than this, in the hour of crisis or out of it. I never saw one with less desire to kill, and with more spiritual and material preparedness to do it if they must.

—Cedric Belfrage

Fidel Castro: The meaning of the Revolution

The Fidel Castro regime moved forward this week toward its greatest identification with the Communist camp. Ideologically Castro put forward a new watchword in virtually proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat as one of the objectives of the Revolution.

—UPI dispatch from Havana, Dec. 17

HAVANA

In another speech that same week Fidel Castro gave details of the government program for the first year, including establishment of 300 workers' social clubs with sport and other facilities; 20-day vacations for all each six months, with greatly reduced rates for infant welfare centers available to working mothers for medical care for children left there during work hours; and the total liquidation of illiteracy.

Following are excerpts of an address made by Premier Castro during the same week as the UPI dispatch was sent. The translation is by Cedric Belfrage:

IN THE FIRST DAYS of the revolution, the opportunist appeared wherever you looked, everyone was a revolutionary! . . . . But in these two years the revolutionary people have been passing through a sieve 16 times as fine. Each of these sieves was one of the revolutionary laws . . . Some people passed through the first, second, third sieves . . . some through the tenth. Some passed through nearly all but couldn't get through the last one—it was too fine for them.

Revolution means subversion of the social order, destruction of all privileges, destruction of all the old things . . . deep and fundamental changes in society—because otherwise it wouldn't deserve the name of revolution . . . And the revolution has based its power on the great mass of the people. Here, in the people, is our great Legislative power, our great Judicial power . . . And the strength of the revolution is in the people, the armed people—for these arms which defend the revolution are not in our pockets but in the hands of the workers, peasants and young people. And who could deny that the young workers and peasants constitute the vast majority of the people?

WE DO NOT NEED to have problems with the church—on the contrary, it is a source of satisfaction to be able to proclaim every citizen's right to practice whatever religious creed he likes . . . But we can ask the worthy gentlemen of the Catholic Church, whose counter-revolutionary activity is more evident and more provocative each day, whether by chance they consider themselves entitled to forbid the revolutionary government to make laws and act within the social and civil order as it believes to be in the people's interests.

One of the refrains the bishops and archbishops most like to repeat is that government officials have said that to be anti-communist is to be counter-revolutionary . . . Do they want us to reply? Well, quite simply, we do indeed think that to be anti-communist is to be counter-revolutionary—just as it is counter-revolutionary to be anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant or anything else which tends to divide Cubans.

FIDEL CASTRO
". . . he would rather die going forward. . ."

All that tends to divide Cubans so as to make them a plaything of imperialism is counter-revolutionary . . . We have not seen in the publications of **Hoy** [Havana CP daily] any anti-Catholic campaigns. What we have seen is that since the triumph of the revolution **they** have been constantly attacking the communists, and that the communists have not been attacking them . . .

THE SINCERE BELIEFS of anyone deserve respect . . . Nobody here forbids anybody's activities or ideas in the religious or other fields. The revolution has only proscribed one sort of conduct and ideas—counter-revolution . . .

But what has agrarian reform to do with the mystery of the Holy Trinity? What has a cooperative to do with a convent? . . . In our people there are many beliefs. Some believe in San Lazaro, some in the Virgin . . . some in horoscopes . . . In earlier times many believed in the Moon. The Aztecs adored the Sun, others the stars, others certain animals . . . But of what importance to us are the beliefs of a sugar co-op worker or a worker in a nationalized industry? What does that have to do with the material benefits he receives, the lowering of rents, the benefits to his children, the increase of employment?

When we have set up a co-op or work center we have never asked anyone what he believed, because those are not the problems of the revolutionary government. The revolutionary government's problems concern the social, economic, educational and cultural orders: to take doctors into the countryside, to build roads, hospitals and schools; to right wrongs, to develop industry . . . to build a new world for our people . . .

A REVOLUTION is a long, tough fight, and a revolutionary knows he cannot retreat one step—that for a revolution to go back is to perish—and he would rather die going forward than die going backward! . . . What the traitors have renounced is the honor of being here building a good life for the people, the honor of being here writing history, of being here weapon in hand to fight and die with honor . . .

They keep saying that "this is a communist government" and "the revolution will take children from their parents" . . . But in the first place we have not heard that any communist country takes children from anyone; and in the second place we have seen Soviet films —I ask the archbishops' pardon if I commit a grave sin by mentioning Soviet films . . . And of the film **Seriocha,** for example, we can say that we never saw anything so deeply human . . . The most barbarous and inhuman films, showing slaughter of Indians and Africans by white men, the defense of crime, egoism and gangsterism, are without any doubt the Yanqui films . . .

As for taking children from their parents, we will tell them frankly: the first thing we did was to give a home to thousands of children who wandered begging through the streets, to whom not one rich family was concerned to give a bed or a roof . . . The revolution compares its work with that of the selfish society in which we used to live. Not only does the revolution protect the child but the right of human beings to have children . . . The cruel society in which we lived was the assassin of children and humble families and deprived millions of women of the right to have children and to be mothers . . .

Truth about Cuba

(Continued from Page [illegible])

midst they demanded and got enacted the death penalty (**"Paredon** [to the wall] **los terroristas!**)."

Thus it may be unbelievable, except to those who were there that these same people, reputed to hate the **Yanquis** so, gathered us into their family gatherings for Christmas eve, danced with us till dawn on Christmas night, feasted us and thronged around us with cheers and handclapping everywhere we went, whether as individuals or in groups, and never tired of showing and seeking understanding for the immense job of rehabilitation they have undertaken.

THE EXPERIENCES of the GUARDIAN group and the other visitors as well, through hundreds of miles of Cuban countryside as well as in Havana, for each visitor will be unforgettable moments.

Over the New Year's weekend we were eagerly welcomed guests at two immense events: a midnight New Year's Eve outdoor feast with 10,000 new young teachers at the once hated and feared military Camp Columbia, now nearing complete reconstruction as **Ciudad Libertad,** a school center for thousands of children from primary to high school level from all over Cuba; and the great celebration in Havana's Plaza Civica on Jan. 2 of the second anniversary of victory in the Revolution, with a nine-hour parade and a crowd which the conservative **El Mundo** estimated at 500,000.

IN THE IMMEDIATE background of two Castro addresses of the New Year weekend was the invasion scare which broke on the Cuban people Friday morning, Dec. 30, in press headlines ten inches high. At **Ciudad Libertad,** after outlining the purposes of the Year of Education, Dr. Castro turned to the invasion threat. He read to the huge audience an Associated Press dispatch quoting the newspaper **El Diario** of Montevideo, Uruguay, Dec. 30 as saying: "The Government of the U.S. has notified the Latin American governments that it will intervene militarily in Cuba to halt installation on the island of 17 ramps for the launching of Soviet rockets."

The AP dispatch said the Uruguayan government had learned officially of the decision of Washington through its ambassador in Washington, Carols Clulow, and assumed that the confidential report had been made known to other Latin American governments "so that no one would be taken unawares by the action of the U.S. against Cuba."

The AP then reported that an afternoon newspaper in Montevideo had learned later that "for the moment construction has been halted" on the bases, but that "the intervention of the U.S. will become effective in case of resumption of the said construction." (Thus, as Havana's **El Mundo** noted, Cuba was placed under a "sword of Damocles.")

AP REPORTED (Dec. 31) that Uruguay's Chancellor Horacio Martinez Montero had declined to confirm or deny the report attributed to his ambassador in Washington, and had gone into meeting with his government's national council behind closed doors. AP went on to quote other Uruguayan papers: the "usually well-informed **El Pais"** with the statement that the rockets destined for the bases would have atomic warheads; and the Catholic paper **El Bien Publico** with the added information that the bases and rockets were being installed "with the final purpose of launching armed aggresion against the U.S."

(The day following Castro's speech, the Havana radio said that advance word of the U.S. report to Latin American governments had been brought to Hanava by a Uruguayan legislator prior to its disclosure in the Montevideo press.)

Castro denounced the rocket-base story as "a most truculent and most absurd 'big lie,' invented without any scruple" by Allen Dulles and the U.S. CIA, whose agents he said had been caught "with their hands in the dough" cooking up an incident of provocation. (In Moscow, Premier Khrushchev denied that his country had or was seeking rocket bases anywhere but at home.)

Any potential invaders of Cuba would be making a mistake, Castro warned, if they thought such intervention would be "a sort of week end." Rather, he said, it would "cost more dearly than it cost to land at Normandy or at Okinawa."

AT THE PLAZA CIVICA celebration Jan. 2 he turned to the threats from within, announcing the death penalty for terrorists and saboteurs and the government's intention to take over "whole neighborhoods if necessary" to rid Havana of its Fifth Column.

The U.S. Embassy, he charged, has harbored "a plague of intelligence agents masquerading as diplomatic functionaries . . . conspiring and promoting terrorism." Of 300 functionaries maintained at the U.S. Embassy, he said, "80% are spies, 80 out of a hundred." And he announced that within 48 hours, the U.S. embassy would be limited to "not one more functionary beyond the number we have in the U.S., which is eleven."

"Fuera!" the crowd shouted (Get out!) and Castro continued: "If they all want to get out, let them go."

THEN, WITH A PLEDGE to defend every house from the roof to the cellar, and the ruins if necessary, to the last shot, the great crowd filed out to these closing words:

"As we go back to our homes and to our posts, let us keep high the certainty that we are living in a transcendental moment of the history of our country and the world, and carry with us the conviction that our motto—**Patria o Muerte**—is not only a watchword in the name of our own country, but also in the name of humanity."

The rest of the story of the break in diplomatic relations is now well known, but not so the story of the real and possible relations of Cubans and North Americans, people to people. In subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN we will draw on our experiences and picture-taking in Cuba to help as many as possible know the truth about the New Cuba and why it is our job to help preserve it for the future good of all our hemisphere.

NEW YORK

Where is American Foreign Policy Leading Us?

In Cuba?
The Congo?
Laos?

John T. McManus
and
Kumar Goshal

TUESDAY JAN. 17 8 P.M.
Fraternal Clubhouse
110 W. 48th St., N.Y.C.
Admission $1.50 at the door

Ike hell bent?

(Continued from Page 1)

Beals noted in the **Nation** (Nov. 12, 1960), U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith tried unsuccessfully to forestall the victory of the Castro-led revolution by holding secret consultations with War Minister Tabernilla "to replace the tottering Batista regime with a military junta." Even more recently, Beals said, the Castro government "got hold of copies of placards being secretly printed by U.S. Ambassador Philip Bonsal." Beals wrote:

"'This is the house of an American citizen,' the placards read, and the text went on to ask that both citizens and property be respected **not by the government of Cuba, but by whoever might have authority.**"

NOT FOR SALE: It has hardly been a secret that the Eisenhower Administration has been hoping for Castro's downfall ever since it realized that the Cuban revolution was not a palace revolution and that Castro was not for sale. Neither Eisenhower nor Secy. of State Herter, for example, extended Castro the courtesy of meeting him when he came to the U.S. in the spring of 1959.

Since then the U.S. press and government officials have systematically distorted news from Cuba and pushed news about anti-Castro exiles planning to overthrow the Cuban government. Most of these plans were rackets by exiles to make a living off gullible Americans; but the Cuban government had to take them seriously in the face of a series of provocative acts by Washington; a stepping up of openly warlike activities in Miami, and invasion preparations in Latin American countries by Cuban exiles, soldiers of fortune and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

ASYLUM ABUSED: Last December Eisenhower obtained from Congress $1,000,000 in aid for Cuban refugees in the U.S. He labeled Cuba as "Communist-controlled" and forecast "a series of steps intended to break the grip of the Castro regime on the Cuban people." This help was extended to Cubans who were recklessly abusing the right of asylum.

The Miami **Herald** (Dec. 25, 1960) gave the names, ages and home towns of some of the 23 Americans who—together with 200 Cubans—were said to be making "final preparations" for invading Cuba. The **Herald** also printed pictures of soldiers training in guerilla dress and of others who appeared to be carrying submachine guns. The **Nation** asked (Jan. 7):

"Are these provocative acts ignored because Washington wants to step up its war-of-nerves against the Castro regime, or does a state of undeclared war prevail at the moment between the U.S. and Cuba?"

THE BOASTS: On Jan. 4 Sergio Aparicio, New York representative of an anti-Castro group, boasted to the New York **Times** of having sent a boat from Miami for the last two months to make three daily broadcasts into Cuba from six or seven miles offshore; another group claimed to have run gelatinite explosive and Swiss rifles into Cuba last Nov. 27.

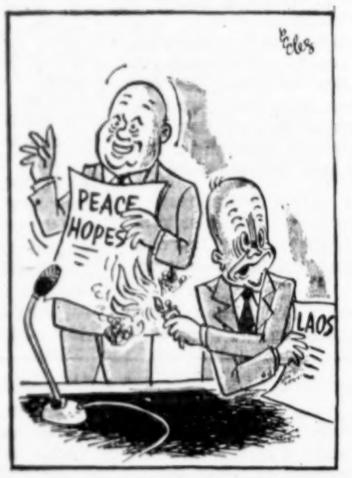
The most sensational invasion evidence, however, involved a secret strip in Guatemala for training anti-Castro exiles, first reported by Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University after a recent trip to Guatemala. Further details are now available.

$1,000,000 CASH: Located in the department of Retalhuleu near the Mexican border, the secret jet airstrip was built by the construction firm of Thompson-Cornwall Inc. in 25 days during August-September, 1960. Thompson-Cornwall was paid $1,000,000 in cash—no one will tell by whom. Before the workers moved in, Standard Fruit (which used the previous grass airstrip as a duster-plane base) and a helicopter company were given eight hours to clear out.

Every approach to the airstrip is guarded by armed sentries. It was reported that Retalhuleu is being used as a training base for both air and ground operations by volunteers from several Latin American states, and that the airstrip is one of a network of military bases capable of launching a coordinated attack on Cuba.

After ignoring for weeks the news as disclosed in the **Nation** and other publications, on Jan. 10 the New York **Times** in a front page story gave details of anti-Castro commando forces being trained at Retalhuleu by U.S. personnel. "The U.S.," the **Times** said, "is assisting [also] in materiel and the construction of ground and air facilities." Guatemala President Ydigoras said the military effort was defensive; but his opponents insisted the preparations were for an invasion of Cuba.

Don Dwiggins (**Nation**, Jan. 7) said he was told in Venezuela of a newly-formed Caribbean Legion of fliers of fortune, whose members were secretly bringing into the area "a growing armada" of aircraft. In Los Angeles, an anti-Castro gunrunner told Dwiggins the fantastic tale of pilots scattered on fields in Los Angeles, Miami, Haiti and Venezuela. They have been offered $25,000 per flight and were waiting for cash advances before they took off in A-20s armed with 600-pound bombs for the Cuban coastline to bomb Cuba's oil-storage tanks.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

PREVIOUS RAIDS: Anti-Castro planes, Dwiggins said, had pulled off such raids from secret bases—but until now with pamphlets only. Guatemala is said to be short of planes; but **Time** magazine reported (Jan. 9) that the U.S. has recently delivered eight surplus B-26 light bombers to the Guatemalan government; two weeks ago five B-26s were at the secret airstrip, along with one C-54 four-engined transport and four C-46 twin-engined Curtiss Commandos.

Columnist Marquis Childs reported (Jan. 5) that over six months ago intelligence agents had furnished Castro with details of centers where exile forces were being trained for an invasion of Cuba. Childs said that "there apparently was some substance" to the reports last October that an invasion might "be mounted before the election." In any case, Childs emphasized the accuracy of Castro's information. This was demonstrated, he said, "when Cuba earlier brought charges before the UN and pinpoint details came to light."

IT HAD TO ACT: When the Cuban government put all the information together and added to it what they called the recent U.S. notice to a number of governments that Washington would intervene in Cuba to prevent alleged installation of Soviet rocket bases (see p. 3), Havana had to act. It ordered the drastic reduction in the U.S. embassy personnel to minimize the possibility of espionage and began to mobilize its forces.

Both Childs and Dr. Hilton have sketched the form U.S. intervention might take: Coordinated attack by planes from several neighboring countries and quick occupation of the Isle of Pines off Cuba's coast; establishment of a provisional government; Organization of American States (OAS) and U.S. recognition of this government; U.S. intervention in force at the request of the provisional government to protect the country from "Communist subversion."

CONGO AND LAOS: In the light of past intervention in Iran and in Guatemala, this is not at all far-fetched. (There was a sudden speculative flurry in Cuban securities in Wall Street in anticipation of Castro's downfall.) Washington, in fact, followed the same pattern in the Congo, helping to hoist Col. Mobutu to power and force UN recognition of the accomplished fact through the malleable President Kasavubu. Both in the past and at present, the U.S. has been following the same pattern in Laos.

Once again, as in 1959, the U.S. has placed a military "strongman"—Gen. Nosavan—in power behind the sybaritic nonentity, Prince Boun Oum, as Premier; Boun Oum has appealed for U.S. military aid for protection against "Communist troops from North Vietnam and China." Yet, as in 1959, even Washington's Western allies reject the story of Chinese and North Vietnamese troops attacking Laos.

The U.S. plan is not having the success Washington expected either in Latin America or in Southern Asia. In Latin America, only such countries with "strongman" rulers—the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Paraguay and Peru—have severed relations with Cuba; others, like Brazil and Mexico, have disapproved of what **Jornal do Brasil** called "acting as a [U.S.] satellite."

MOVES IN THE UN: In the UN, Chile and Ecuador attempted to introduce a resolution calling on both the U.S. and Cuba to seek a peaceful solution in accordance with the UN Charter. Although the resolution had the support of the Soviet Union and the Asian-African members of the Security Council, the two Latin states were obliged to withdraw it when the U.S. opposed it, since an adverse U.S. vote would have had the effect of a veto. The Security Council adjourned without taking any vote at all. It was obvious, however, that Chile and Ecuador expressed most Latin Americans' preference for peaceful negotiations.

But the Eisenhower Administration seemed grimly bent on disaster as it sent destroyers and aircraft-carriers to its Guantanamo base in Cuba and to the shores of Laos. It was at the same time attempting to "persuade" neutralist former Premier Souvanna Phouma to return from Cambodian exile to Laos and lend respectibility to the pro-U.S. regime.

Eisenhower reached the White House on a pledge to bring peace to Korea; he semed determined to leave it to the beat of war drums.

Guardian to show new film on China in N.Y. Feb. 13

FIRST SHOWING in New York of a new documentary film of China will be given by the GUARDIAN Monday, Feb. 13, at Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St.

The film was made by Robert Cohen during a 7,000-mile, six-week tour through China in 1959, and shows the organization and production techniques that underlie the country's "great leap forward." Cohen had the cooperation of the government in making the movie.

He will deliver his own narration at the GUARDIAN showing. Tickets at $1.50 each may be purchased at the door or by calling ORegon 3-3800.

Save the Dates!

For GUARDIAN 12th Anniversary meetings to be held in the following cities in conjunction with Editor James Aronson's nation-wide speaking tour, Jan. 19-Feb. 9.

CHICAGO

Friday, Jan. 20—4919 S. Dorchester Av. (South Side). Welcome by Rev. William T. Baird.

Saturday, Jan. 21—Basker, 5010 Jarlath Av., Skokie, Illinois. Welcome by Prof. Curtis MacDougall. (Peggy Kraft Lipschitz at both affairs.)

MINNEAPOLIS

Tuesday, Jan. 24—Andrews Hotel, Parlor M3, 7:30 p.m. Chmn: Fred Stover. Adm. 50c.

SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, Jan. 27—California Hall, 8 p.m. Also Paul Sweezy, economist. Adm. $1.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

Sunday, Jan. 29—Details later.

LOS ANGELES

Friday, Feb. 3—Alexandria Hotel, doors open 6:30 p.m. Coffee and dessert 7-8; entertainment; program begins 8:30 p.m. Donation $1.50.

DETROIT

Tuesday, Feb. 7—Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer Hwy., 3 blocks so. of Fenkell. 7:30 p.m.

Come, and bring your friends! Help make '61 our year of the "Great Leap Forward"

Fair Play asks Kennedy to restore Cuban ties

THE FAIR PLAY for Cuba Committee on Jan. 5 wired President-elect Kennedy its "gratification" at his refusal to associate himself with the action of the retiring Eisenhower administration in breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba. At the same time the Committee wired Eisenhower its "dismay and protest" over his action and urged no further steps which might exacerbate the situation. The telegram to Kennedy urged restoration of relations with Cuba as a first act of the new Administration.

To tell the truth about Cuba . . .

The coverage of the latest events concerning Cuba (pages 1-4) in this issue make ours a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $2 for 13 weeks, $5 for a year.

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DR. DU BOIS REPORTS THE TRANSITION

Nigeria becomes part of the modern world

By W. E. B. Du Bois

(First of two articles)

I HAVE JUST SPENT two weeks in Nigeria. I hesitate to record even briefly the tremendous impression which this land made on me because my stay was so short and because the meaning of this nation is so momentous to the modern world. Nigeria, as large as France and Italy combined, with as many people as England, is a portion of the Middle Ages set suddenly into the last half of our century. It brings in Benin and Ife, an art form which already has transformed modern art and a technique of casting bronze and copper which has amazed historians of technology. It flatly contradicts modern history as received today and makes morals and religion in Europe and America largely hypocrisy.

'NIGERIANS THROUGH THE LORE OF THEIR FATHERS LOOK BACK ON A MIGHTY PAST'
And through their children they can look forward to a still greater future

The black people of Nigeria stride into this modern world with no dream that their color is a disgraceful insignia of inferiority. I sat, November 12, in the dining room of an air-conditioned modern hotel in Lagos, when suddenly the black waiters stood at attention; there arose the whistling cry "Zeek!" by which for 25 years Nigeria has hailed Nnamdi Azikiwe as he agitated for independence; out of a private dining room at the far end strode a six-foot black man robed in flowing white and crowned in embroidered velvet. He was the Governor-elect of this nation; he had left his dinner guest, the retiring British Governor, to come greet me and my wife to Nigeria.

Why was this man being made the first black Governor of a British colony? Because Britain in a last subtle move had decided to yield to Nigeria's irresistible demand for independence by granting to a Nigerian the formerly powerful office of Governor-general, now shorn of its power to make laws and dictate policy, but still robed in the tinsel of pomp and circumstance. One hundred thousand people witnessed this inauguration. I had traveled 6,000 miles at Azikiwe's invitation to be sure that Socialism would be represented on this occasion. For this the Governor-elect greeted me. And I had come to learn just how powerless the new Govenror would be. I knew that already Britain had been disappointed in failing to keep Northern Nigeria out of federation with the south and how Moral Rearmament, financed by Big Business, had been working on Azikiwe.

AMERICA WAS DISCOVERED and Guinea and India invaded by Europe in the same decade and then there began a phantasmagoria which for 300 years transformed the modern world. A British Protestant Christian, William Howitt (**Colonization and Christianity**, London, 1838), recorded the truth:

"The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people that they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth."

Out of this tragic past the Nigerians of today march, largely ignorant of the significance of what has happened to them. They have never been conquered by Europeans, but, through bribery and deception, were so manipulated by the British Empire as to regard the British mainly as benefactors.

Nigerians through the lore of their fathers look back on a mighty past. They remember the empire of the Songhay where in the early Sixteenth century the black Mohammed Askia ruled on empire as large as all Europe; and as the Arab chronicle says: "There reigned everywhere great plenty and absolute peace!" Their University of Sankoré was a world center of learning among the peoples of the Mediterranean.

What happened? European traders came to barter with a trading people in spices and gold. Domestic slaves furnished labor and gradually became themselves material for labor exported to Spain and Portugal long decimated by war. Then in America came a wider demand for labor promising fabulous wealth. Britain, starting with white indentured servants, seized and dominated a vast and profitable black slave trade. Africa lost a hundred million souls from the middle of the Sixteenth to the middle of the Nineteenth centuries. Slave raids became tribal wars, and slave labor changed the face of commerce and industry in Europe. Industrial Revolution built a new world based on wealth in private hands. Whence came this wealth?

KARL MARX TELLS US: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.

"**Tantae molis erat**, to establish the 'eternal laws of Nature' of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between laborers and conditions of labor, to transform at one pole the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage-laborers, into 'free laboring poor,' that artificial product of modern society. If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." (**Capital**, Moore & Aveling, Vol. 1, pp. 832-4).

But the Nigerians knew little of the wider meaning of this. They only felt the impact of black invaders from the East like the Hausa and later the Fulani; and the push of the Ibos and Yoruba from western Atlantis. War raged among these African peoples, wars which changed their folk ways and art; which built their economy on far-off slavery and tempted missionaries from Europe to uplift their morals, bring them primary schools, but often interfere ignorantly with their folkways. Traders like Goldie and his Niger company sailed up the Niger and gradually turned the face of Nigeria from the Mediterranean to the slave-trading Atlantic. The coast of the Gulf of Guinea was annexed by force and by treaties with chiefs which made them pensioners of England and by bribery expanded the empire.

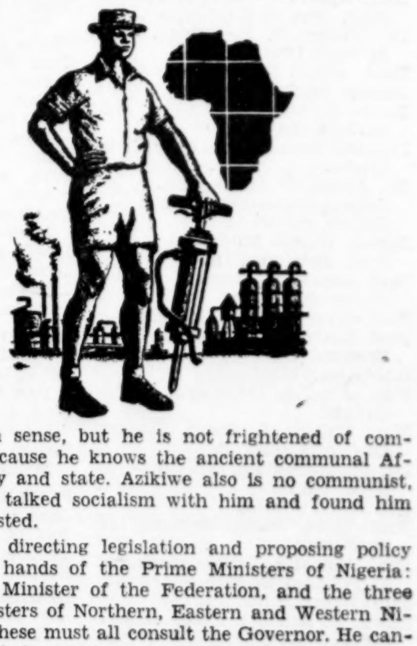
Thus arose modern Nigeria, untouched by color caste, proud and masterful but living in an unkown world. The vast territory, which stretched north and west from the island of Lagos, became loosely unified under British administrators and was called Nigeria after the fabulous river, which for 2,500 miles flowing north, east and south puzzled and misled the world, until it poured into the Atlantic through a hundred mouths forming a delta twice the size of the state of New Jersey. A freebooter, Frederick Lugard, after fighting in China and India and killing Christians and Moslems in Uganda, was recognized by the British government as an "empire builder" and raised to the peerage. By skillful bribery called "indirect rule" he annexed all Nigeria to the British Empire.

A BLACK MAN who later became Bishop Crowther helped explore the Niger in 1841. But the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea became restless under this pressure of Europe. The Slave Coast, the Grain Coast, the Gold Coast agitated for greater voice in government. Crowther's grandson, Herbert Macauley, agitated for voice in government and was jailed in 1928. Young Nnamdi Azikiwe, educated in the United States, founded the **West African Pilot** in 1937, followed by a string of other protesting papers. Before World War I the British ruled all Northern Nigeria by a Governor-General and the rest of Nigeria through a council on which the Governor had a majority composed of officials and merchants. The West African Congress, inspired by and following the First Pan-African Congress, secured some elected members to this council.

There followed the participation of Nigerians in World War II by which the Allies drove Germany out of Africa and then came the rise of trade unions. These unions met with the world unions in Paris in 1945, struggled for and won their right to speak for themselves, and joined in calling the Fifth Pan-African Congress that year in England.

The agitation of Azikiwe and others in Nigeria increased until the wiser Britishers advised yielding, but the die-hards tried to hold Northern Nigeria from joining the South. They failed. Northern Nigeria joined the Federation and with the Governor-Generalship stripped of power, Azikiwe was nominated to the place, after escaping a charge of misusing funds in organizing his bank. It was hoped his good will had been secured and could be made certain by a privy councillorship and a possible knighthood later.

There came disquieting difficulties. I do not know all the facts, but these seem true. With British social contacts with the proud Sultans and Emirs of Northern Nigeria it had been planned that the son of the Sultan of Sokoto would be educated at Oxford and become leader of Northern Nigeria. However, the Sultan could not stomach the idea of his son being educated at a Christian college. He, therefore, substituted a young Nigerian of lower rank, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a teacher trained at the University of London. Knighted by the Queen, he became Prime Minister of a Federated Nigeria and the most powerful official in the nation. But curiously, Balewa is a friend of Azikiwe and working amicably with him. He is no socialist in the modern sense, but he is not frightened of communism, because he knows the ancient communal African family and state. Azikiwe also is no communist, but I have talked socialism with him and found him most interested.



Power of directing legislation and proposing policy lies in the hands of the Prime Ministers of Nigeria: The Prime Minister of the Federation, and the three Prime Ministers of Northern, Eastern and Western Nigeria. But these must all consult the Governor. He cannot force their decisions, but he is by far the most popular man in Nigeria and his word is influential.

NEXT WEEK: Nigeria's future.

350 LEADERS PETITION CONGRESS

Abolish the Un-Americans

Following is a Petition to the House of Representatives of the 87th Congress signed by 350 distinguished Americans who seek to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The list of signatories appears below also. The petition was printed as a two-page advertisement in the Washington Post *of Jan. 2.*

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, petition the 87th Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Standing Committee.

We believe that the U.S. Supreme Court has, in the United States vs. Watkins, made it clear that the Committee has habitually misused its mandate in unconstitutional ways for political purposes; that it has become an agency for repression; that it has usurped the functions of the executive and judicial branches of our government.

We are confident that only a return to constitutional procedures can protect us against subversion without at the same time subverting the very liberties we seek to protect.

For two decades the Congress has allowed the Committee to function. For two decades the Committee has condemned individual Americans, has wrecked the lives of some, and has denied them the due process of law that English and American courts have toilsomely evolved over many centuries. Now the nation is reaping a bitter harvest:

1. The Committee has perverted, and thereby imperiled, the proper and necessary powers of the Congress to conduct investigations.

2. The Committee has helped discourage free study and inquiry in working for peace while the world is threatened with destruction.

3. It has harassed Americans who work for racial equality and justice.

4. It has increased bitterness between racial and religious groups of our citizens, which in turn has imperiled our good relations with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

5. It has discouraged social and cultural contacts with our neighbors on this shrinking planet. It has discouraged U.S. students and scholars from studying countries which we Americans desperately need to understand.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has in these ways weakened America. At no time in history have we needed to be stronger. At no time have we needed to be wiser. Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and of folly.

KEEP HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE OUT OF THE SOUTH!
350 SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERS
FIRST AMENDMENT YES HUAC—NO!

Photo by Jack Arnold

A MESSAGE FOR THE NEW CONGRESS
Part of the picket line in Washington on Jan. 2

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Prof. John W. Caughey, Scientist
Prof. W. Henry Cooke
Rev. J. Raymond Cope, Unitarian
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Edward D. Yeomans, Educator

MICHIGAN
Rabbi Morris Adler
Russell B. Babcock, Social Worker
Prof. Sheridan Baker, Professor of English
Prof. Kenneth E. Boulding
Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, D.D., Methodist
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Baptist
Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Former Circuit Court Justice
Rev. James H. Laird, D.D., Methodist
Charles C. Lockwood, Lawyer
Ernest Mazey, Labor Official
Prof. Julius Paul
August Scholle, Labor Official
Brendon Sexton, Labor Official
Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Church Official

MINNESOTA
Dr. I. M. Kolthoff, Scientist
Dr. Maurice B. Visscher, Scientist
Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, Professor of Political Science

MISSOURI
H. Hadley Grimm, University Official
Dr. Ralph H. Jennings, Synod Exec. Presbyterian Church
Prof. Benjamin E. Youngdahl

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Grenville Clark, Lawyer
Dr. William Ernest Hocking, Philosopher
Dr. Harlow Shapley, Scientist

NEW JERSEY
Rev. Benjamin J. Anderson, Presbyterian
Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Educator-Author-Lecturer
Hon. John O. Bigelow, Former State Superior Court Justice
Bernarda Bryson (Mrs. Ben Shahn) Artist-Author
Dr. Michael Heidelberger, Miccrobiologist
Dean Ernest Gordon, Educator
James Imbrie, Retired Wall Street Banker
Prof. Erich Kahler, Philosopher
Dr. Solomon Lefschetz, Scientist
George R. Pettey, Former Pres. Flight Engineer's Union
Dr. Theodore A. Rath, Churchman; Synod Exec.; Pres., N.J. Council of Churches; College and Seminary President
Prof. Donald H. Riddle, Professor of Political Science
Ben Shahn, Artist
Prof. George F. Thomas, Chairman Dept. of Religion
Prof. Paul Tillett, Professor of Political Science
Dr. William Carlos Williams, Poet
Prof. H. H. Wilson, Professor of Political Science

NEW MEXICO
Marian Ager
Prof. Robert Emmet Clark, Professor of Law
Hon. John Collier Sr., Former Commissioner of Indian Affairs
Prof. Verne Countryman, Professor of Law
Prof. Ted Flemmer, Professor of Law
Prof. Jack Kroner, Professor of Law
Prof. Allan R. Richards, Professor of Political Science

(Continued on Page 7)

ABOLITION FIGHT GAINS MOMENTUM

Walter declares war on all who oppose Un-Americans

By Joanne Grant

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, issued the first week of January, made it clear that the Committee has declared war on the impressive forces who seek the Committee's abolition. The report gave its predictions for 1961 and outlined an anti-civil liberties legislative program.

In a statement released Jan. 2, Chairman Walter (D-Pa.) sought to smear the opposition before it had demonstrated its full strength. He said:

"The United States faces a period of Communist-fomented violence and mass demonstrations designed to further national Communist objectives."

He said the Committee (HUAC) had found the anti-violence clause of the U.S. Communist Party to be "fraudulent" and cited as historical proof selections from early Russian and Soviet writers. Walter said: "The American people cannot rely wholly on this country's armed forces to protect them from the Communist conquest." He called on "all citizens to become combatants in the 'unconventional warfare' being waged against this country by the international forces of Communism."

THE DOCTORED FILM: The Walter statement cited last May's anti-HUAC demonstrations in San Francisco as an example of "Communist-directed" violence. This is the theme of the doctored film, "Operation Abolition," sponsored by HUAC, which is being circulated commercially throughout the country. It was not until October, four months after the film appeared, that a report issued in the House of Representatives carried a transcript of the film and the information that HUAC had sponsored it.

Burton White, chairman of the Bay Area Students Committee for the Abolition of HUAC, told the GUARDIAN Jan. 4: "It is significant that the television stations whose films were subpenaed have not received any payment, even though 'Operation Abolition' was made and distributed commercially."

The film has been shown 17 times to Washington, D.C., police. In California it was shown for the first time with the endorsement of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, and later film showings were accompanied by speeches by law enforcement officers. The film has been shown widely to high school students, at Parent-Teacher Assn. meetings and on college campuses by young "conservative" groups.

RUMORS OF RIOT: California students purchased a copy of the film and are showing it with a speaker who points out the film's distortions. White said that the students are also presenting their version of the demonstrations in a pamphlet, "In Search of Truth," prepared by the Bay Area Student group, and in lectures.

White said several organizations had canceled scheduled film showings or refused to hear a student opposition speaker because of fear of rioting. "There is always a riot rumor spread before any showing of the film set up by any group other than ours," White said.

WALTER AGAIN: Three San Francisco students were ordered deported after having taken part in the demonstrations; a fourth, John Robert Johnston of Scotland, won a visa extension after repeated Immigration Service interviews.

Johnston said that the Immigration officer "admitted that the action against me was not necessarily that which the Immigration Service would have taken if left to make its own decision, but that policy was being dictated by Congress." Johnston said: "I eventually obtained the information that Rep. Walter . . . is also a senior member of the House sub-committee on Immigration." The Immigration officer then asked him if he now "understood the situation."

Another student, Robert J. Meisenbach, was scheduled to go on trial Jan. 16 on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon. He denies the police charge that he struck officers during the demonstration with a policeman's nightstick. Police said that Meisenbach started the riots by rushing police barricades. The defense cites a news photograph (**Life, May 23**) showing Meisenbach some distance away from the untouched barricades. Defense attorneys plan to call over 200 witnesses. The trial is considered vital since a conviction would tend to corroborate police stories of student violence.

Funds to aid Meisenbach's defense may be sent to the Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund, c/o Prof. John Otwell, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. Committee members include Eric Fromm, Roger Baldwin, Alexander Meiklejohn, Norman Thomas and Reinhold Niebuhr.

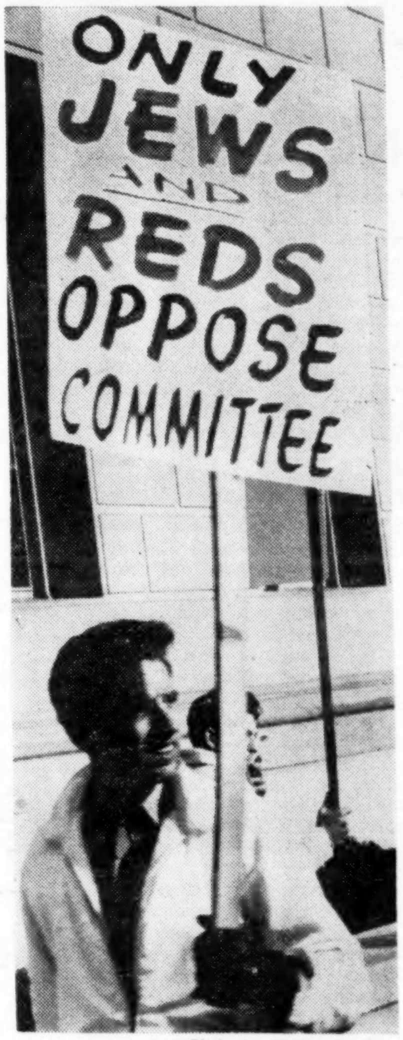

Photo by William A. Price

FRIEND AND FOES

No score card was needed

WASHINGTON SCENE: The San Francisco tactics used by HUAC were evident in Washington also, where the Youth to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee announced in advance a demonstration Jan. 2. On Dec. 28 Rep. Walter called the demonstrations "Red planned." "If they materialize," he said, "they will be met by counter-demonstrations."

More than 350 persons from many parts of the U.S. picketed in opposition to HUAC and counter-demonstrations were staged by Nazis, segregationists, anti-Castro Cubans and East European refugees.

Washington police addressed a rally sponsored by the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and called the counter-demonstrators "belligerent." Police Capt. Michael Mahaney thanked the group for its peaceful demonstration and praised Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, chairman of the Youth group, and Frank Wilkinson, field secretary of the national committee, for the handling of the demonstration.

OPPOSE APPROPRIATION: States in which the national committee has affiliates are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. In an all-day conference Jan. 7, the New York group adopted plans to encourage New York Congressmen to speak and vote against the committee's 1961 appropriation. The conference elected Dr. Otto Nathan and Russ Nixon, co-chairmen: Bernard Weller, vice-chairman; Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, secretary and Rev. Lee H. Ball, treasurer.

Dr. Nathan told the GUARDIAN: "The New York Council has only one objective: to help the National Committee as vigorously as possible in its endeavors to mobilize the American people in a campaign for the abolition of a Congressional Committee that has invaded time and again the constitutional liberties of American citizens in an attempt to suppress rightful criticism and political opposition."

Letter campaign

REP. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, newly-elected Democratic Congressman from Manhattan, in his first public statement as a Congressman announced support of a drive to cut the HUAC appropriation. Ryan said the HUAC should be abolished by Congress, but that at present an abolition vote would not receive adequate support. His move supports that of Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) who wrote members of Congress stating his opposition to the HUAC and calling on them to cut the HUAC budget.

In Washington, Rep. Omar Burleson, chairman of the House Administration Committee, refused to grant Rep. Roosevelt's request for public hearings on the committee's appropriation, but invited him to appear when the HUAC budget is considered. Ryan will also testify against the appropriation.

The National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities has mailed through its affiliated civil liberties organizations in 16 states 30,000 copies of Roosevelt's letter. The national committee has called for a letter campaign to Congressmen urging them to speak out and vote against the HUAC appropriation when it comes up this month.

Petition signers

(Continued from Page 6)

Prof. David H. Vernon, Professor of Law
Prof. Henry Weihofen, Professor of Law

NEW YORK
Max Awner, Editor, Labor News
Samuel L. M. Barlow, Philanthropist
Joseph Barnes, Editor-Executive
Prof. S. H. Bauer, Scientist
Dean John C. Bennett, Theologian
Prof. Lyle B. Borst
Bishop Allen W. Brown, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Albany
George Brussell Jr., Lawyer
Dr. Arthur Butler, Civic Leader
Helen L. Buttenweiser, Lawyer
Dr. James H. Case Jr., Educator, College President
George B. Colbrin, Civic Leader
John O. Crane
Sylvia Crane (Mrs. John O. Crane)
William A. Delano, Architect
Hon. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Former Congresswoman
Melvyn Douglas, Actor-Producer
Prof. L. C. Dunn, Scientist
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Author-Lecturer-Historian
Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President of Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Church Leader and Author
Ruth Frank, Dir., Radio Station WBAI
Ira A. Hirschman, Advertising and Public Relations Counselor
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, D.D.
B. W. Huemsch, Lawyer
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, Community Leader-Public Official
Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Civic Leader
Horace M. Kallen, Author
George S. Kirstein, Publisher
Rabbi Isaac Klein
Prof. William M. Kunstler, Professor of Law
Prof. Eric W. Lawson, Professor of Finance and Economics
Jack Levine, Artist
Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Professor Emeritus, Political Science
James F. McNamara, Labor Official
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Albert Mayer, Architect
Walter Millis, Author
Dr. Lewis Mumford, Author
Rev. A. J. Muste, Church Executive
Rev. Claud Nelson, Church Executive
Dr. Henry Neumann, Editor
Dr. Otto Nathan
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Theologian
Leo Pfeffer, Lawyer
Mrs. Max Posner, Civic Leader
Prof. Norman Redlich, Professor of Law
Eleanor Roosevelt
John Nevin Sayre, Executive
Hon. Richard B. Scandrett Jr., Lawyer
Joseph P. Selly, Labor Official
Otto L. Spaeth, Businessman
Dr. Norman Thomas, Author-Lecturer
Dr. Henry Pitt VanDusen, Pres., Theological Seminary
Hon. J. Waties Waring, Lawyer-Retired Justice
Rev. Galen R. Weaver, Church Executive
Robert R. Wilson, Scientist

NORTH CAROLINA
Dean Grady D. Davis, School of Religion
Prof. Wayne A. Bowers
General Hugh B. Hester, (U.S.A., Ret.) Author-Lecturer
Prof. Douglas Maggs, Professor of Law
Prof. Daniel H. Pollitt, Professor of Law
Prof. Daniel K. Rice, Scientist
Dr. Oscar K. Rice, Scientist
Carl Sandburg, Poet

OHIO
Prof. Van Meter Ames, Professor of Philosophy
Rabbi Stanley R. Brav
C. E. Israel, Businessman
Charles M. Judd, Businessman
Prof. Robert E. Mathews
James Paradise, Labor Attorney
Rev. Harry R. Roach, Church Executive
Mrs. Leonard Swift, (Mary H.) Teachers College
Prof. Leonard F. Swift, Teachers College
Prof. Ernest L. Talbert, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology
Dr. Warren Taylor, Professor of English

OKLAHOMA
Prof. Arthur W. Heilman, Professor of Educational Psychology

PENNSYLVANIA
Catherine Drinker Bowen, Author
Spencer Coxe, Civil Liberties Official
Gertrude Ely, Civic Leader, Educator
Josiah W. Gitt, Editor, "The York Gazette and Daily"
Stewart Meacham, Executive, American Friends Service Committee
Dr. Glenn R. Morrow, Professor of Philosophy
Clarence E. Pickett, Executive, American Friends Service Committee
Henry W. Sawyer III, Businessman
Prof. Louis B. Schwartz, Professor of Law
Roderick Seidenberg, Philosopher-Architect
Mrs. Roy L. Winters, President, United Lutheran Churchwomen
R. R. Wright Jr., Businessman

SOUTH CAROLINA
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Banker

TENNESSEE
Dr. Herman H. Long, American Missionary Association

TEXAS
Prof. C. E. Ayres, Economist
Molly M. Berke, Civic Leader
J. Frank Dobie, Educator Author
Rev. Alfred D. Heininger, Congregational
Emmitt R. Johnson, Businessman
Prof. George I. Sanchez

VIRGINIA
Dr. Edwin B. Henderson, Author-Lecturer-Educator
W. Hale Thompson, Lawyer

WASHINGTON
Benjamin H. Kizer, Businessman
David J. Smith, Civil Liberties Official

WISCONSIN
Dr. Paul F. Clark, Scientist
Prof. John V. Finch, Professor of Mathematics
Adele V. Holtz, Civic Leader
Prof. Earl S. Johnson
Esther Kaplan, Civic Leader
Rabbi Harry B. Pastor
Prof. William G. Rice, Professor of Law
Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, Professor of Economics
Prof. William A. Williams, Professor of History.

BOOKS

A misread Soviet fable

A LITTLE ALLEGORY is a dangerous thing, or so the Soviet novelist Vladimir Dudintsev would have realized if he had seen the American press' description of his short novel, **A New Year's Tale,*** published in the Soviet Union last spring and thereafter in translation in the magazines **The Reporter** and **Partisan Review.**

For example, Harrison E. Salisbury of the New York **Times** (April 19, 1960) reported that "Dudintsev's daring views seem certain to arouse sharp controversy" though he could not quite decide whether the dark continent referred to in the symbolic fantasy, to which the Soviet researchers were to bring light, was their own country or the capitalist world. But since if it were the United States Salisbury would have no story, the U.S.S.R. seemed more likely to him. So the one point Dudintsev had made unmistakable—that it was not the U.S.S.R.—was fogged over by Salisbury, and in this he was followed by other analysts in depth.

VLADIMIR DUDINTSEV
Allegory can be dangerous

DUDINTSEV'S first novel, **Not by Bread Alone,** will be remembered as a stormy assault on certain opportunists and bureaucrats in Soviet scientific circles. By extension it was a demand that men merge their personal aims with the goals of Communist society and not pretend that what is good for them is self-evidently good for their country. The book, in which there are traces of Balzac's **Lost Illusions,** got a cool welcome from Soviet officialdom; here it was quite falsely hailed as a blow against the very structure of the socialist system. Any subsequent work of the writer's was bound to be scanned for further signs of disenchantment. But despite Salisbury's interpretation, **A New Year's Tale** is no S.O.S.; it is, in fact, the voice of a man crying Excelsior.

Dudintsev's romantic fable is about a young scientist who has allowed himself to fritter away his time in second-rate public disputes when he ought to be engaged in original research. Flattered by his colleagues' malicious delight in his victories over his opponent, he does not see that he is going to waste in self-indulgent bickering. Not until a giant owl—bird of Athena, goddess of wisdom—begins to haunt him does he realize how short is his empty life. He resolves henceforth to act as though every minute must be charged with a hundred years of creative energy. Working in the Sun Research Laboratory, he sets himself the task of condensing sunlight which can then be sent to that other half of the globe which is in perpetual darkness.

THE SCIENTIST confesses that he is motivated by more than the desire to achieve self-fulfillment in the service of mankind. He also wants to feel the joy that men's gratitude will give him. His ambition is not unlike the poet Milton's: "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise/ That last infirmity of noble mind/ To scorn delights, and live laborious days. . . ." There is a good deal of the revolutionary Puritan in Dudintsev.

In Dudintsev's earlier novel, the protagonist's ethical fervor found outlet in realistic situations and actions. This allowed the author scope to view him at times with a sense of humor. Here the moral metaphors are disproportionate: the enemies of the creative spirit are a gang who do not stop at murder; masks must be worn to elude them. The beautiful woman with sloping shoulders who helps the young scientist may be the goddess herself . . . . The whole thing is just a bit too earnest. The difference between the creative individual and the rest of mankind is enlarged until it becomes a separation or even an antagonism. He is either the benefactor of passive millions or a Titan dragged down by envious dwarfs. A touch of crankiness encroaches upon the noble conception of the "clear spirit."

Yet his idealism is not wholly naive, though it may seem so to American intellectuals whose potentialities are so often frustrated by commercial considerations that they take their defeats for granted.

—Charles Humboldt

**A NEW YEAR'S TALE, by Vladimir Dudintsev. E. P. Dutton and Co., 61 pp. $2.50*

Mr. K in New York

NOW IN one volume are all the important statements by Nikita S. Khrushchev during his stay in New York, Sept. 19 to Oct. 13, 1960, when he headed the Soviet delegation to the UN General Assembly. The book includes Mr. K's UN statements and proposals, other major addresses and news conferences in New York, and his report after his return to Moscow. The 286-page collection is published by Cross Currents Press, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City. The cloth edition is $5; paper, $1.50.

The paperback is available through Guardian Buying Service at $1.25.

PUBLICATIONS

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LECTURES

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

HAS JUST RETURNED from a three-month Eastern European lecture tour during which she spoke for the Institute of World Literature and the Union of Soviet Writers in Moscow; the University English Department and the Jewish Culture Verband in Warsaw; the Shakespeare Society of Prague and Charles University; Humboldt University Jubilee and the Union of German Writers in Berlin; the English- American Institutes of the Universities of Greifswald, Jena, Leipzig, Potsdam and Rostock in the German Democratic Republic; and the 15th Annual Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Dr. Rubinstein is now completing plans for her Cross-Country West Coast speaking tour, and will be in the Midwest (Detroit to Denver) March 2-9; in California March 10-20; in the Northwest March 21-27; in British Columbia March 28-April 6; in the Northern Midwest and Eastern Canada April 6-17; (dates approximate).

Please write immediately for specific dates, fees, and choice of subjects to **Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, 59 W. 71st St., New York 23, N.Y.**

BOOKS

The Book They Wouldn't Review!

RECENTLY we published a first "novel" by a man whose other books have sold more than a million copies.

He is a nationally known humorist. A first novel by a nationally known humorist would ordinarily be a "must" for the review columnist of the New York **Times,** the New York **Herald Tribune** and **Saturday Review.**

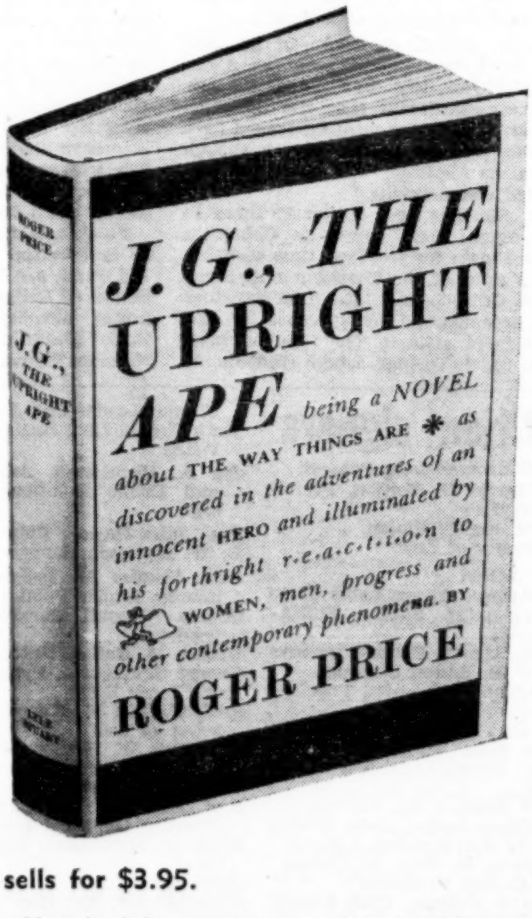
This one, they **didn't** review.

They couldn't.

It is too devastating a commentary on our atom-bomb civilization . . . on our politics and politicians . . . on patriots and big business . . . and on other contemporary phenomena that even humorists don't care to deal with these days.

The deceptively innocent title of the book is **J. G., The Upright Ape.** Its author is Roger Price, whose **Droodles** and **Mad Libs** brought him acclaim.

It looks like this: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HILL REPORTS LABOR'S FAILURE

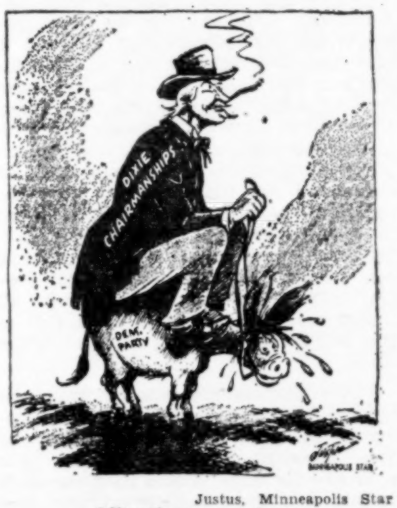
NAACP opens drive against jimcrow in AFL-CIO unions

> *No historian of the American trade union movement worthy of his salt can wink at, or fail to take cognizance of the fact that the labor movement, from its very beginning to the present time, has never treated the black worker as an equal with the white worker . . .*
>
> *It is a socio-economic-psychological truism that the ugly image of organized labor in relation to the Negro worker has been made by labor itself and can only be changed by labor.*
>
> —A. Philip Randolph in the New York Courier, May 14, 1960

By Robert E. Light

THE CRACK in the informal alliance between labor and Negroes widened into a breach Jan. 3 when an NAACP official accused the AFL-CIO of fostering jimcrow in its own house.

NAACP labor secy. Herbert Hill told the organization's annual meeting in New York that in the five years since the AFL and CIO merger, "the national labor organization has failed to eliminate the broad pattern of racial discrimination and segregation in many important affiliated unions." He said AFL-CIO efforts to eliminate jimcrow have been "piecemeal and inadequate" and have come usually as the result of pressure from outside civil rights groups.



Justus, Minneapolis Star
Liberal sweepstakes

Hill's attack on AFL-CIO discrimination has become an annual event. He made his first public criticism in 1958. AFL-CIO leaders denied the charges and pointed to convention and executive board resolutions favoring civil rights. The attack led to a meeting in March, 1959, between AFL-CIO president George Meany, A. Philip Randolph, the AFL-CIO's only Negro vice president, NAACP executive secy. Roy Wilkins and Hill. Meany promised to take action. But little happened beyond additional resolutions and conferences.

MEANY'S INSULT: The issue erupted again at the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco in September, 1959, when Randolph introduced motions to (1) compel two railroad brotherhoods to junk their white-only membership clauses within six months or be expelled; and (2) to order liquidation of all jimcrow locals in AFL-CIO international unions. The resolutions committee watered down Randolph's proposals to voluntary compliance but even this was too strong for Meany.

He insisted that unions had a right to maintain segregated locals because in some instances Negro unionists approved of them. When Randolph said that it was not "logical" to separate workers on the basis of color, Meany answered: "Who the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

No white union leader rose to defend Randolph, who has led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for 36 years, or to support his arguments.

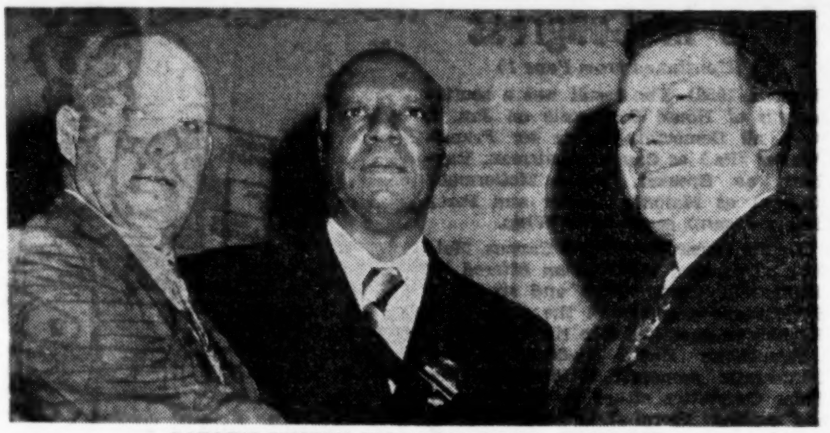
GETTING WORSE: Meany gave Negroes another jolt last February when he said it would be "terrible" if Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), a Negro, succeeded to the chairmanship of the House Labor and Education Committee. Meany called Powell a "racist." The retiring chairman of the committee is Graham Barden (D-N.C.), who has an unblemished record of opposition to social and civil rights legislation.

While Negroes have always rankled at the contradiction between labor's promise and its performance in combating discrimination, the issue has become acute in recent years. The small advances Negroes have made in gaining equal status on the job have not nearly kept pace with the rate of automation and the frequency of "recessions." Because Negroes are employed largely in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, they have been particularly vulnerable to technological unemployment. In the scramble to learn a skill, Negroes often have found the door barred to training programs.

Negroes have been hit twice as hard as whites by recent "recessions." General unemployment reached 6.2% in November, but for Negroes the figure was 13.9%.

THE METHODS: Hill's report listed four types of discrimination:

- **A ban on Negro membership.** Such a prohibition is still in the constitution of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. It is an unwritten practice in the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Operating Engineers, Iron and Structural Steel Workers, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters (Meany's union), Plasterers and Lathers, Sheet Metal Workers and Boiler Makers.



LABOR'S UNSEEN VICE PRESIDENT: JIMCROW
George Meany, A. Philip Randolph and Walter Reuther at the merger convention.

- **Jimcrow locals** of all-Negro or all-white members. Offending unions include: Carpenters, Hod Carriers and Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.
- **Separate seniority rosters** for white and Negro members, which restrict Negroes to unskilled jobs. The report said this affected many thousands of Negroes in southern paper mills, chemical plants, pulp works, oil refineries, steel plants and textile mills.
- **Union-controlled apprentice programs** which bar Negroes. Hill cited the railroad craft unions and brotherhoods as well as the printing, metal trades and construction unions.

Hill emphasized that the practices he described were not limited to the South. But, he said, because Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council leaders have virtually taken over many Southern locals, especially in Alabama, Negroes are voting against unions in organizing elections. Hill said: "Negro workers throughout the South are experiencing an acute sense of alienation and rejection from organized labor."

THE DODGERS: AFL-CIO leaders returned Hill's fire immediately. Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, said that Hill was "trying to create a wrong image" of labor's efforts and that he was "doing damage to civil rights." Zimmerman added: "We still have problems in our own ranks—we never denied that—but we are always working to fight discrimination in the ranks and fighting for legislation against discrimination."

Boris Shishkin, director of the AFL-CIO civil rights department, called the report a "very unfortunate document" because it failed to recognize that "the primary responsibility" for jimcrow "lies with management."

George M. Harrison, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, one of the unions cited in the report, said that some Negroes in his union want segregated locals because "they feel they can get a better deal that way."

Meany commented cryptically: "I have given up long ago trying to satisfy Herbie Hill. I'm satisfied we're making progress."

CRASH PROGRAM NEEDED: Hill's report will be discussed at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting next month. But the issue will get a further public airing before then at a Washington conference Feb. 17 to 18, called by the Negro American Labor Council, which Randolph heads. The conference was called to arouse public concern and "a sense of urgency" about the plight of Negro workers.

Randolph said: "The problems of the Negroes today are as critical as they were after the Civil War. We need a crash program to provide Negroes with the skills required by automation."

N.Y. CORE benefit Jan. 15 features suite by Max Roach

RUBY DEE, recently starring in "Raisin in the Sun," will be the narrator at the premiere performance of Max Roach's **Freedom Now Suite at the Village Gate** in New York's Greenwich Village on Sunday, Jan. 15, at 4 p.m.

Also appearing in the jazz concert for the benefit of the Congress of Racial Equality is the Max Roach Quintet, vocalist Abbey Lincoln, the Nigerian drummer Olatunji, and dancers Helena Walker and Charles Moore. Tickets at $2.50 may be obtained from CORE, 38 Park Row.

CHICAGO

James Aronson
Editor of The GUARDIAN
"The Cold War and The Paper Curtain"
South Side—Fri., Jan. 20
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In Skokie—Sat., Jan. 21
5010 Jarlath Av. (Basker)
Welcome by Prof. Curtis MacDougall
Peggy Kraft Lipschitz
at both affairs

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Editor of The GUARDIAN
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Rules in Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

burn in 1959). The result was a routine caucus of House Democrats on Jan. 2, with all Democrats voting for Francis Walter (Pa.) as Caucus Chairman, Rayburn as Speaker, John McCormack (Mass.) as Majority Leader and Percy Priest (Tenn.) as Majority Whip.

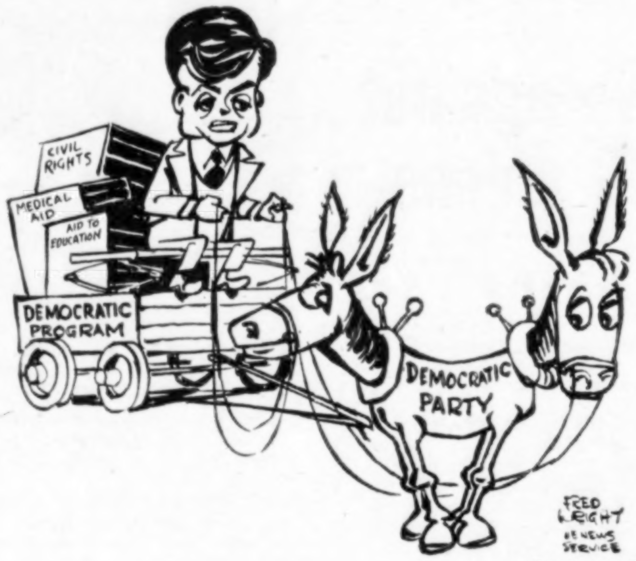
In the House Republican Caucus, Halleck sidetracked a resolution offered by Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.) and six other Republicans repudiating the idea of a Republican coalition with the Dixiecrats.

Republican House leaders rejected Democratic proposals to liberalize the Rules Committee either by enlarging it and adding liberal Democrats, or by naming anti-coalition Republicans to the two GOP seats open on the Committee.

CAUSE FOR CAUTION: Rayburn at first indicated he would support the removal of Colmer from the House Rules Committee because of his active opposition to the election of Kennedy. Presumably Colmer would be replaced by another Southerner who would do Rayburn's bidding. There are two obstacles to this step:

(1) Colmer would have to be removed by the 15 Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee who make all Committee assignments of House Democrats. Ways and Means Committee chairman Wilbur Mills (Ark.) is especially beholden to Gov. Orval E. Faubus because his state is slated to lose two Congressional seats in the redistricting which the Governor will supervise. Mills could be one of the two, so he is not inclined to make his fellow Dixiecrats unhappy. This caution applies not only to Mills' action on Colmer, but also to his influence on all Democratic Committee appointments and to the social welfare legislation coming before his powerful committee. (2) Four other Southerners, all good friends of Rayburn and Mills, also fought Kennedy's election and would have to be deprived of their high seniority if the axe fell on Colmer. Neither Rayburn nor Mills want that.

HONORABLE COMPROMISE: The likelihood is that Colmer will not be removed and that a compromise will be worked out with Chairman Smith. This would involve a pledge by Smith not to pigeonhole any of Kennedy's five-point legislative program: housing, aid to education, medical care to the aged, minimum wages, and aid to distressed areas.



Drawing by Fred Wright

Also Smith would agree not to block bills passed by both the House and Senate by using his power to prevent joint conferences to iron out differences in the bills. Smith has indicated his interest in such an "honorable compromise" in place of efforts "to pack his committee with left-wingers" or to purge Colmer. Such an arrangement would continue the basic power of the Rules Committee and its controlling coalition.

In the Senate a bi-partisan group of pro-civil rights advocates is pushing hard for amendment of Senate Rule 22 to stop the filibuster. At present two-thirds of the Senators voting, usually 67, must approve in order to close debate and vote. A motion led by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N. Mex.) would change this to three-fifths of the Senators present, or 60. A more liberal proposal—sponsored by Democratic Whip Hubert Humphrey (Minn.) and Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel (Calif.) and 23 other Senators—would permit 51 Senators to require a vote after a reasonable but limited period of debate.

NIXON'S RULING: Anti-filibuster Senators rely on a ruling by Nixon in their fight to change Rule 22. In 1957 and 1959, and now in 1961, Nixon ruled that the Senate is not a "continuing body" and by a simple majority can adopt new rules after every election. The pro-filibuster forces hold that each Senate session is part of a "continuing body" and that the rules hold over from the previous Senate session. This would mean that on the basis of the old rules a filibuster could be used against any proposed rules change. Thus an anti-filibuster proposal could be killed by filibuster. Lyndon Johnson holds this view. The Dixiecrats therefore want to delay action until after Inauguration Day, Jan. 20, so they can have the benefit of a ruling by Johnson rather than Nixon.

The outcome is uncertain. Dixiecrats under the leadership of Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.) have pledged a finish fight against what Russell calls "a gag rule which would sound the death knell for true liberalism in this country."

Majority Leader Mansfield, like Johnson, is a supporter of the filibuster and voted against efforts to curtail the practice in 1959. Minority Leader Dirksen has taken the same position. Although Humphrey attempted to prevent Senate action on the filibuster this year, pressure by his liberal supporters finally forced him to switch his stand and co-sponsor the majority cloture proposal.

Kennedy voted with the anti-filibuster forces when he was in the Senate. On Dec. 20, in Palm Beach, he restated his view that a simple majority of the Senate should be enabled to limit debate. But Kennedy has kept out of this Senate fight. New York **Post** Washington correspondent Robert G. Spivack reported on Jan. 3: "If Kennedy were officially to give the word that he favored it [the filibuster curb] there is little doubt that enough votes could be lined up for adoption. If Kennedy remains formally neutral . . . the vote will be close."

There is little hope that the Humphrey-Kuchel motion for a simple majority vote to end filibuster will succeed. It lost in 1959 by 28 to 67. A close vote is expected on the Anderson proposal to reduce the required vote to stop debate. This proposal lost in 1959 by 36 to 58.

SOME PROGRESS. A significant and partially successful drive was made by Senate liberals to liberalize the operation of the Senate Democratic Caucus. This is what happened: After his election as Majority Leader on Jan. 3, Mansfield proposed that Vice President Johnson be invited to preside over Senate Democratic caucuses. This unexpected proposal to continue Johnson's key role in the Senate caused a sharp reaction. Tennessee's Albert Gore and Estes Kefauver bitterly opposed the proposal and were joined by 15 others. Forty-six voted for the Mansfield motion, many reluctantly and resentful at being put on the spot. It is significant that 17 Democratic Senators were bold enough to vote against.

The Democratic Senate Caucus met again Jan. 4 and acted to limit the powers of the Majority Leader. It voted to give itself the right to pass on all nominations by Mansfield to the powerful Senate Democratic Steering and Policy Committees. This was a compromise with an original proposal by Gore under which all members of the committees would be elected by the Caucus itself. Mansfield threatened to resign if the motion passed in its original form. Furthermore, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) forced a commitment from Mansfield to call regular party conferences to inform all Democratic Senators of developments at the leadership meetings in the White House.

These changes are progress from the type of boss control exercised by Johnson in the past. They indicate that as Vice President Johnson will not have such an easy time holding the Democrats in line. And there is little prospect that Mansfield can exercise the kind of control wielded by Johnson as Majority Leader.

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As a veteran of the E.T.O. I remember shaking hands with Gen. Eisenhower in a little coffee and donuts shop at an army air base outside Frankfurt, Germany. He said then: "Men, we will soon be going home to live and work in peace." We were brainwashed into believing that Germany would be turned into a great farm country; at the same time I was hauling 25 to 30 tons of cement a week from a plant near Innsbruck, Austria, by trailer truck to Frankfurt. We were building an enormous airdrome, but I wondered then what type of crops could grow in solid cement. **Peter Maslanik**

THE GALLERY

CHICAGO'S BOARD OF EDUCATION budget hearings last month got a choice lecture on juvenile delinquency. Mrs. Jean Washington, a high school art teacher, appeared as spokesman for two teen-age gangs to read their statement on the causes of delinquency. Mrs. Washington, who is white, does social work in her spare time with the Egyptian Cobras and the Vice Lords, Negro gangs. She said that the gang leaders had come to her for advice—"They don't like the role they have played, but they don't know what they can do about it"—and she helped draft a joint statement.

The youths blamed the board for much of teen-age violence and crime. They said: "We are the results of your policies . . . You are guilty. Over the years you have robbed us of millions of dollars but you have not been sent to jail for this. Because of your policies of hate, our lives have been ruined and sometimes ended. Yet you can go home to your clean beds at night and sleep."

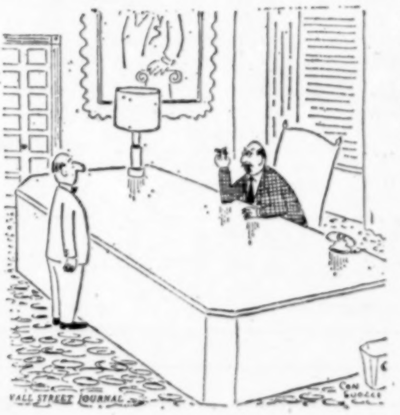
They offered a program to the board: (1) allow students to remain in school even if they have failing grades or "attendance irregularities"; (2) give "special tutoring and close personal attention to students already in academic difficulty"; (3) end "double shift and overcrowding segregation in the Negro elementary schools" by transferring Negro students to "white schools with vacant seats"; (4) add a high school in the House of Correction—there is only an elementary school; (5) upgrade teaching quality in Negro schools to equal instruction in white schools. The youths said that "very little money need be spent to do the things we ask."

Much of the statement traced crime among Negroes to segregation and discrimination in housing, education and jobs. It said that "syndicate-controlled adult crime is rampant in Negro areas. Syndicate control is so strong . . . that Negro voters are not even allowed to vote if they attempt to vote against syndicate-controlled candidates."

The statement ended: "When a Vice Lord or Cobra . . . or any Negro youth commits robbery or assault or rape or murder, do not be appalled, do not seek vengeance. Go to the mirror and look and then go to your clean beds and try to sleep."

William G. Caples, vice president of the board, shrugged off the testimony. He said: "The statement had nothing to do with the budget. A woman got up and just read it. We don't know who she was speaking for. We just took it at face value. We didn't consider it an ultimatum."

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN offered to foot the bill for mental hospital treatment for Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. "I think he needs it," Spellman said . . . . Father Reginaldo Fracisco, a Dominican friar in Rome, recently completed a study of modern dancing. He concluded that the waltz, polka and mazurka are morally clean. But he found the cha cha and the rumba sinful . . . . Chicagoans who feel overwhelmed by their problems can get relief for less than the price of tranquilizers. They can dial DE 7-1200, any time of the day or night, and hear a recorded prayer. Unlike problems, prayers change daily . . . . During a two-day session on disarmament at Michigan State U., Emil Mazey, secy.-treas. of the AFL-CIO Auto Workers, urged local unions to initiate discussions on world problems so that public opinion can start creating "a climate of peace." He called for world disarmament and the establishment of a Federal agency to work out programs to provide full employment while the nation converts to a peace economy . . . . The Natl. Labor Relations Board recently ruled that it is legal for an employer to give away dollar bills on the sidewalk during a union organizing campaign. J. G. Papineau, manager of the Castle Hotel in Omaha, tried the technique when union organizers passed out leaflets to his employes. The board said that passing out money indiscriminately was legal, but it found the unprecedented raises he gave some employes to discourage them from joining the union an unfair practice.



Wall Street Journal

"Mind stepping over to this side, Bayer? I can't hear you."

SOCIETY COLUMNIST ELSA MAXWELL wrote: "I had a marvelous Christmas . . . . I spent the weekend in Roslyn with Winston and Cee-Zee Guest. Vava Adlerberg drove me down. It was a wonderful day. Coming up the Guests' drive, little dogs and big dogs greeted our car with yapping, as if to say, 'Merry Christmas.' . . . . That Communism—founded on atheism—should some day prevail is not possible, for there is no joy in an ideology which does not exchange best wishes, give presents and receive them because of the birth of Christ." . . . . The New York **Times** society page reported that the American Russian Aid Assn. (not to be confused with Russian War Relief) ran a cocktail dance at Ermitage Restaurant for the benefit of "aged and and needy men who once were pages for Czar Nicholas II." . . . . A New York mail order company is offering an "instant glamour wig" for women in ten colors, including pink, ice blue, grey streak and blond streak. The price is $5.95 each. There is no reduction for schizophrenics who want two. . . . . A New Year's Eve surprise shakedown inspection of cells in the New Haven jail turned up 225 bottles of whiskey, hypodermic needles, pills, food and about $800 in cash. **—Robert E. Light**

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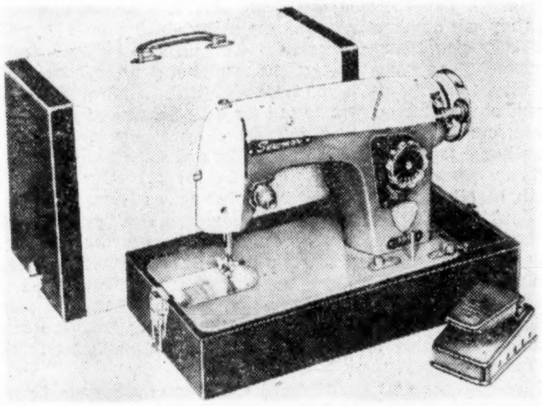
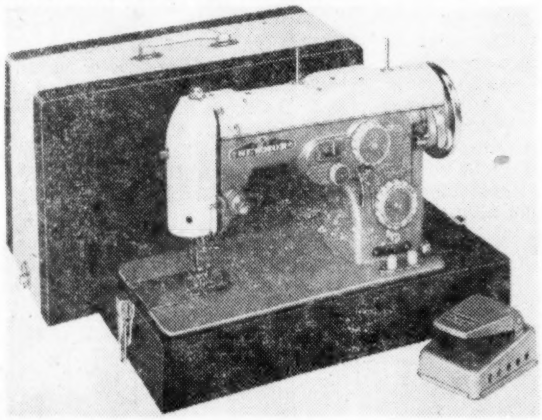


MODEL 620—A straight sewing machine with an ingenious dial stitch regulator offering from 6 to 30 stitches per inch. Instruction book. GBS pays shipping charges...... **$79.50**



MODEL 770—Fully automatic zig-zag with 21 pattern plates controlled by a dial. Importer maintains five major repair centers in the U.S. GBS pays shipping...... **$134.50**

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
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GBS offers a fine portable from Japan at a low price!

GBS's RELENTLESS SEARCH for products to please you has uncovered what we think is a real find—imported (from Japan) sewing machines! The facts are as follows:

- About 50% of U.S. homes have sewing machines. If you already have one you should debate seriously getting a new one, since except for a few gimmicks a new one probably won't do anything your present machine won't do.
- If you don't have a machine, or need a new one, you need one of two types: (1) a conventional "straight-stitch" machine, which is for users primarily interested in mending clothes, making curtains, slip covers, etc.; and (2) an automatic "zig-zag" machine for fancy, decorative stitching, which is more complicated and costly. A third decision, whether to buy a portable or console model, is entirely up to you.
- GBS has decided to offer just two machines—the best straight sewer in the line we elected to handle, and the best automatic Zig-Zag. These are the **Sewmor Models 620** and **770**, respectively. We are offering the portable models only, to avoid the difficulties of handling the dozens of different cabinets available for console models. Those who want a console model should write us for a brochure showing the various cabinet styles.

The SEWMOR 620

MODEL 620 is a straight sewer comparable to makes selling, roughly, from $100 to $200. It carries the Good Housekeeping and UL seals of approval, and features a rotary dial stitch regulator to enable you to select the number of stitches per inch you want. It also features a Shut-L-Kleen device to prevent jamming, built-in sew light, on-off indicator, push button reverse, 7-speed foot control pedal, and many other features. 20 year guarantee on parts. In black, red and ivory. **GBS PRICE $79.50**

ZIG-ZAG 770

MODEL 770 is the "top of the line" fully automatic zig-zag machine with 21 pattern plates controlled by a pattern selector knob. All other features are the same as or similar to those above. Roughly comparable to machines selling in the $200 to $300 range. **GBS PRICE $134.50**

For additional information write **Guardian Buying Service**, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y., and we will send you model sheets on both machines.

Service and Repairs

GBS sells the **Sewmore** machine with a 20-year manufacturer's guarantee on all parts. If your machine ever requires service or repair, and there is no dealer near you, the machine would be shipped, at your expense, to Dallas, Atlanta, Chicago, New York or Los Angeles where complete service facilities are maintained.

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

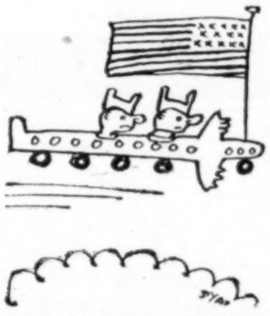
'Stop the Yanks in Laos'

LONDON

THE MAN IN THE PUB here was slow to awaken to the danger of the situation in Laos; after all he had Christmas and New Year celebrations to think about. But when he did realize that the U.S. was sending troops, an aircraft carrier and nuclear arms to this new trouble spot, he woke up with a bang. There must be a few people in Britain who think like the U.S. State Dept., but I could not find them. The general view was summed up by a man I met in my local pub: "The bloody Yanks are trying to start a war and they have got to be stopped."

If the government, instead of voicing its opposition to U.S. policy by inspired statements to diplomatic correspondents, had openly denounced the military preparations, it would have had unanimous support from the country. If Mr. Gaitskell, instead of limping behind the government with the request that Parliament be recalled before there could be any question of British troops involved, had said that the Labor Party would fight the new war threat with every weapon it possessed, he might have regained his leadership overnight.

If Washington wanted a test of how far its reluctant allies would go in following a policy of armed intervention, it had its answer. The U.S. would be as isolated as Britain and France were when they attacked Egypt.



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Say, you sure we're only filmin' in Laos?"

AMERICAN COMMENTATORS who tried to draw a parallel between the Laos situation and the Korean war completely misunderstood the British reaction. British participation in the Korean war was possible only because it was accepted as a genuine example of UN action against aggression. Proof to the contrary published here by Sir John Pratt and by I. F. Stone in the U.S. reached a very small public. But the British people were not interested in fighting communism in Korea and they regarded Syngman Rhee as the same type of American puppet as Chiang Kai-shek. So cries from Washington about the danger of Laos falling into the communist camp left them cold.

Foreign Office behavior showed Britain's uneasy subservience to Washgton. It would not officially oppose the American course. It recognized the Boun Oum regime and accepted the American demand that the supervisory commission should not be recalled. But it took every opportunity to advise newsmen that Britain had no proof of Viet Nam intervention and that SEATO could act only if intervention was proved and a request was received from the Boun Oum government.

The result was that the press and TV commentators built up massive opposition to the American policy. When a BBC spokesman, who is generally accepted as the voice of the government, emphasizes that "the British government has no evidence at all that North Viet Nam units have crossed the border," the man in the pub accepts this as an official snub to Washington.

THE TIMES, which is pretty much the voice of the Establishment on issues of this kind, on Jan. 2 gave its Saigon correspondent the lead of the paper with a devastating exposé of the charge of Viet Nam intervention "based on one Vietnamese prisoner." The correspondent recalled the "reckless statements" in 1959 about communist intervention, which were disproved by a UN team, and concluded: "More substantial proof is essential before the West even considers intervention by force."

The Manchester **Guardian** on the same day recalled the 1959 episode and added: "If there has not been an invasion this time either, then the U.S. has laid itself open to another humiliation in Asia . . . To accuse the Soviet Union of breaking the Geneva agreements by delivering arms to the rebels, while true, must seem dangerously like hypocrisy to those in Asia—and elsewhere—who remember that the present Laotian government came to power because the U.S. did the same. Indeed when the Soviet Union started delivering arms it was to the legal government at that time; it was the Americans, who until a few weeks earlier, had been arming the rebels."

The **Times** next day said that "to bring SEATO in would only aggravate matters more, increasing the risk of counter-intervention," and said it was fortunate that neither the Chinese nor the Vietnam government had threatened armed intervention but called instead for the return of the international commission.

ALMOST EVERYBODY HERE has been hoping for a lead from Kennedy. Many regard this episode as an attempt by the Eisenhower Administration to commit its successor to a **fait accompli** in the Far East.

If Kennedy fails in this respect, it will have far-reaching repercussions. The news that U.S. warships off North Viet Nam are armed with nuclear bombs will intensify the opposition to the Polaris and bomber bases here. The British people understand that aggression by the U.S. anywhere is a threat to their homeland, and the threats against Cuba will be seen in this light.

A lead from the new Administration could change the situation. But a failure to give a lead will intensify the anti-American feeling which is widespread throughout Britain. The Laos episode has struck as heavy a blow to U.S. prestige as Britain suffered over Suez.

—Gordon Schaffer